India

FOR THE

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Notes and News 273
Gilgit and Chitral 276
Rajah Brooke 277
Notes from Bombay 278
The Policy of Reaction in India: Coercion of Teachers in Madras ... 279
Plague Measures in India: Petition of the Inhabitants of Belgaum ... 280
"The Purring of the Tiger!" 282
The Chupra Scandal. Some Comments of the British Press 283
Marriage of Miss N. H. Bonnerjee 283
Advertisements 284

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE *Pioneer* has at last found itself obliged to refer to the Chupra case and even to admit that "the executive of the district have acted most unjudicially and injudiciously." To a great extent the *Pioneer's* article takes the form of an apology. We are told that Mr. Corbett was sent out to persuade the villagers to mend the bandhs, but a minute later we learn that he told Narsingh Singh, the first man he met, to set to work—apparently without any persuasion except of the forcible kind he afterwards applied. Our contemporary, however, thinks that the prosecution was a mistake, and then goes on to say:—

> But even if the prosecution was judicious, the consultation between the Deputy Magistrate and the District Magistrate as to the nature of the judgment to be passed was most offensive to modern ideas of justice.

Our contemporary draws a sad picture of "the whole executive of the district arraigned before the District Judge in open court and bullied to make a babu's holiday." In fine the leading Anglo-Indian journal lends the weight of its authority to the view that official sins are not to be openly attacked for fear the prestige of Government may suffer. It is a dangerous doctrine—the sure parent of official degradation.

We are very pleased to learn that the soldiers who were alleged to have been concerned in an outrage at Ahmedabad have been completely exonerated. It will be remembered that we strongly pressed for an exhaustive enquiry by the military authorities as much for the honour of our soldiers, if the story should turn out untrue, as for the punishment of crime, if it should be true. It is said, whether correctly or not does not appear, that the authorities were somewhat slow in commencing the enquiry, but it is at least satisfactory to learn that the enquiry was full and exhaustive. A full and fair investigation is the only proper way to meet such charges, and none have more reason to welcome it than the innocent.

Mr. Le Mesurier, the District Magistrate of Patna, has sentenced Mr. Henwood, the European manager of Rai Tshwari Prasad, to six months' rigorous imprisonment. According to the *Friend of India* the case arose out of a dispute as to the possession of certain plots of land. The accused with his men found the complainants at work on the disputed land; he asked them to stop; and on their refusing a quarrel arose, and the complainants were beaten by the order of the accused. The Court held that Mr. Henwood had exceeded his right of private defence. He has since been released by the Sessions Judge on Rs. 2,000 bail.

A young European, S. S. Russell, late of the Plague Department, Calcutta, was charged at Alipur on November 6 with committing a rash and negligent act. He was amusing himself in the compound of the plague hospital by firing with a saloon rifle at a chatty floating in a tank. Unfortunately one of the shots went over the wall of the compound and hit an old Mahometan in the nape of the neck. The bullet was extracted, and the injured man taken to hospital, while the police took possession of the rifle and arrested Russell. The *Bengalee* of November 11 states that the case is still pending.

Our readers will remember the case of Mr. Hodson, Assistant to the Political Agent in Manipur, who sent the agent of certain accused persons to prison with a written order to the gaoler to flog him and a verbal order not to do so. The gaoler carried out the written order, whereupon Mr. Hodson had the gaoler flogged too. For this Mr. Cotton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, removed him to Sylhet and put him at the bottom of the list of his grade. Mr. Hodson obtained leave and spent it at Simla; and now, some two months after his removal, the Government of India has again posted him to Manipur on the expiration of his leave. Considering the enormity of his offence, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* thinks that the sending back of Mr. Hodson to the scene of his former exploits may well be coupled with the transfer of Mr. Pennell. Is it to go forth to the world that any crime may be pardoned in an Indian civilian save that of exposing the shortcomings of other members of the Service?

There recently appeared in India some statistics of flogging in British India. The results were not meagre, but were apparently insufficient to satisfy the Indian Government; for there is now a Bill before the Imperial Legislative Council to extend the Whipping Act. Against this the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* protests. It points out that in several cases men have been whipped and then proved innocent, and it even asserts that in one case—though we hope our contemporary is mistaken—an appeal was rejected on the ground that the appellant could not be unwhipped. It is suggested that a sentence of whipping should never be executed until the time for appeal has lapsed. But is it necessary for Indians to trouble themselves about Whipping Bills, when, law or no law, Mr. Hodson can whip to his heart's content for any cause or no cause, for troubling his court or for carrying out his orders, and can then go back in triumph to the scene of his former—administration of justice?

Power and Guardian gives particulars of an assault case at Dinajpur. A zemindar of the district met a European leather merchant named White, who was driving in a dog-cart. In crossing the road, the zemindar caused the horse to shy, whereupon Mr. White jumped down, chased the zemindar and horsewhipped him, "till the blood oozed out." Mr. White was prosecuted for the assault which he admitted, but pleaded provocation, and was convicted and fined Rs. 10. The zemindar was fined Rs. 5 "for intentionally frightening the horse." Thus is justice administered in India.

The *Tribune* has some plain words on the conduct of the Imperial Government to the Indians of the Transvaal. When the Indians of Johannesburg presented a memorial to the British Agent setting forth that they had been ordered by the Boer authorities to move to an unhealthy and inconvenient location, he advised them to abide by the Boer Law "as the British Government would not at present interfere on the general question of the *status* of British Indians in the Transvaal." Other Outlanders might be worth a terrible war, but not the British Indians. But the *Tribune* has no difficulty in finding a reason for this:—

> How could the British Agent have the face to demand fair treatment for Indians when he knew that the wily Boer would refer him to the wrongs and disabilities of her Majesty's Indian subjects in British colonies?

And of these British Colonies Natal is the worst. Yet at this very moment the homes of these Colonists are being protected by troops for long years supported and kept in efficiency by their wronged and insulted fellow-citizens of India.

Last week we referred to the case of Trooper Jones and the interpreter of the Magistrate's Court at Ladysmith. The Acting-Magistrate at Estcourt, as we stated, found for the trooper. On September 14, however, the case came up on appeal before the Supreme Court, which set aside the magistrate's judgment, and entered judgment for the appellant Indian for £10, with costs in both courts. The Chief Justice did not consider that Jones had a *bona fide* belief that he was arresting a person that was liable to be arrested.

The appellant was an Indian well-known to the persons in the locality; he was a Government officer; he had produced a cheque drawn in his favour showing that he was a Government officer. Trooper Jones had arrested appellant on his own responsibility; the arrest was improper; and he (the Chief Justice) was afraid that there was a good deal of temper shown by the police officer—more temper than he was justified in showing—and it was in consequence of that temper that the arrest was effected. There was not the slightest justification for the use of the handcuffs, for the appellant had not resisted.

The Supreme Court has done justice, on the facts as reported. But why should an Indian, just because he is not an Englishman, be thus tyrannised over by Trooper Jones? And why should a Magistrate, in such a plain case, give such an obviously bad decision in favour of Trooper Jones and against the Indian? It is sufficiently hard that an Indian in Natal should not be sure of justice until he has fought his way up to the Supreme Court.

The Simla correspondent of the *Bombay Gazette* reports (Nov. 6) that "the Government of India will make a purchase of 1,040" mules from Persia and Arabia, "for India, to cover the deficiency caused by the drain on the resources for South Africa." Well, is the Government of India going to pay for them out of its own treasury? Or do they fall within the "ordinary" or "extraordinary" cost of the Indian contingent, which, we have been given to understand, is to be met by the British Exchequer? A thousand mules, in ordinary circumstances, would be neither here nor there; but, when the Indian accounts are so grievously burdened with expenses essentially Imperial, we think it well that even such an item as this should be critically scrutinised.

The deepening severity of the famine is painfully apparent from the latest telegram from Simla to Whitehall (December 5). The figures of relief for the past two weeks are given thus:—

Bombay, 208,000 and 253,000; Punjab, 75,000 and 68,000; Central Provinces, 611,000 and 625,000; Berar, 53,000 and 76,000; Ajmere, 88,000 and 97,000; Rajputana, 95,000 and 205,000; Central India, 21,000 and 34,000. Total, 1,151,000 and 1,358,000.

The total increase is no less than 207,000 in a single week. The only decrease is in the Punjab, and it is a very small one. The rise in Bombay is almost one-fourth; in Berar, almost one-half; in Central India, more than one-half; in Rajputana, it has more than doubled. About one-half of the total is accounted for in the Central Provinces. It may be assumed that the officials are doing their best to combat the scourge, but these figures tell an awful tale of progressive privation and suffering, and one longs for better times.

The educational world of Madras has been not a little disturbed by the changes introduced into the Educational Rules and the Grant-in-Aid Code coming into force appropriately enough on April 1 next year. In the very first article of the first chapter of the Code, it is now stated that "the rules in this Code notwithstanding, Government reserves to itself the right to withdraw or refuse any Grant-in-Aid at its discretion." In that case, it is not easy to see why Government should be so superfluous as to issue any Code at all. It would be quite simple to give, or refrain from giving, at its good pleasure, without saying anything on the subject. But to lay down rules and make promises, and then to turn round and say you will do as you like "the rules notwithstanding," seems a very feeble, though a very genuine, form of autocratic arbitrariness. We suppose the Government wishes to be thought desirous of encouraging education, yet it is rather difficult to discover how such an attitude is likely to work out the effects naturally to be expected from the fostering care of the Government. Some stupid clerk, we dare say, has been blundering in the matter. The sooner this preposterous clause is expunged, the better for education, and for the credit of the Government.

The bugbear of politics has also bitten the Madras Educational authorities badly. The Educational Rules lay down this requirement:—

No member of the staff or the establishment of an institution *under public management* shall be permitted to take part either directly or indirectly in political movements or agitation, *or to attend a political meeting* where the fact of his presence is likely to be misconstrued or to impair his usefulness as a public servant. In cases of doubt a reference should be made to the Director.

And the new Grant-in-Aid Code extends the undertakings of the Manager in this wise:—

That the Manager and Teachers of the Institution will not take part either directly or indirectly in political movements or agitations, *and that they will not attend political meetings without the previous consent of the Director.*

The Manager is thus saddled with responsibility for the Teachers in a matter in which he cannot control them unless he divides himself up and walks about with them when a political meeting is in the wind. We should imagine that a managership will promptly cease to be a highly coveted post. There does not appear to be any specific guidance for a teacher who may want to settle with himself whether or not in any given case his presence at a political meeting is "likely to be misconstrued" or "to impair his usefulness as a public servant"; and a reference to the Director seems sure enough to result in a prohibition, for the Director will run no risks. One does not readily see why teachers should be debarred in this way from taking part in the discussion of the affairs of the community if they happen to be interested in what is going forward. We hope a strong effort will be made to have these oppressive rules deleted, for they can be fruitful of nothing but individual vexation and widespread discontent.

It appears that the "sanctioning authority" may withhold, reduce, or suspend grants, and take such other measures as the occasion may appear to him to demand on "violation of any of the conditions of recognition and aid." This is a tolerably wide power to put in the hands of any man. The Government evidently reserve all their confidence for the sanctioning authority. How oppressively the arrangement may be worked by a sanctioning authority in full rapport with the Government may be seen in the position of teachers with the lower salaries. In the case of grants from Provincial Funds, salary grants not exceeding 30 rupees a month may be transferred or increased within the limit, or reduced, or withdrawn by the inspector. Imagine, then, the terrors with which the inspector is invested. The salary grant is generally one-third to one-fourth of the salary, and so the inspector has absolute power to withdraw all grants from teachers drawing salaries from Rs. 90 to Rs. 120 a month. True, there is an appeal, and a unique appeal it is: "an appeal shall be to the sanctioning authority for the revision of its orders." The coolness of this official audacity is amazing. And so is the provocative disallowance of questions on the matter in the Legislative Council.

A section of the Mahometan population of Lucknow appears to have followed the lead of the Rájá Sir Amir Hassan in repudiating all sympathy with the Indian National Congress, which is to meet in their town in the end of the present month. The substance of the resolutions as reported by the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, exhibits a curious similarity to the Anglo-Indian views current in higher quarters. The draftsmen cannot be congratulated on their knowledge of the facts of the history of the Congress, nor yet on their political outlook. The Lucknow Mahometans will find the Congress men just as keen as themselves for "the true regeneration of India" by "internal reform of the social fabric and the material and moral improvement of the communities composing the population of the Indian Empire," although they leave the distinctive social questions to the Social Conference. They cannot deplore more sincerely than the Congress men "the daily widening gulf between the rulers and the ruled," or "between the different sections of the people." They might well ask themselves, however, whether the

Government and the administration of the country are really so admirably excellent that the authorities stand in no need of criticism or suggestion. It may wear a fine appearance of loyalty to say ditto to the official views, but appearances are sometimes deceptive, and on the whole we retain our opinion that the frank and candid critics are the best friends of the rulers. Our Mahometan friends would do well to reconsider their position. In any case, their deprecatory resolutions can have no effect whatever upon the course of the Congress proceedings.

Elsewhere in the present issue we print a petition addressed to Lord Sandhurst in Council by "the inhabitants of Belgaum, now residing in huts." For the past two years the Memorialists have been settled in huts "beyond the Municipal and Cantonment limits of Belgaum, at a considerable distance from the city,"—some at least of the hut sites having been approved by the Plague Committee in July last. There was no plague among them during the first and second epidemics, but there have been a few cases during the third, and these the Memorialists attribute to the fact that the increased stringency of the plague rules under Mr. Cappel, the new Chairman of the Plague Committee, led some people to remove plague cases clandestinely to the huts. They now complain that Mr. Cappel is taking advantage of his own fault to force upon them the hated remedy of inoculation. "Any group of huts in which a plague case has occurred during the present epidemic," says the Plague Committee, "is to be considered infected;" and "the definition of a group is at the discretion of the officer concerned." And "the Chief Superintendent will see that when infected huts or groups of huts are evacuated, the roofs are at once taken off to prevent reoccupation." The dispossessed people must take up quarters in the Health Camp for ten days, or else accept inoculation. If the Health Camp be a very objectionable place, then undoubtedly the Memorialists are entitled to say that the Plague Committee is positiveiy driving them to submit to inoculation.

The statement of the Memorialists, which is definite and subject to the readiest verification, can leave no doubt that they have a pefectly valid grievance against the Health Camp. They say:—

> It is absolutely a misnomer to denominate these huts by the appellation of Health Camp. The huts of the Health Camp are not so far from each other as the people's huts are. The Health Camp, moreover, is quite close to the infected city. Only a public road separates the two. The Contact Camp, where infected people are placed, and where plague cases have occurred, stands quite close to the Health Camp, and there is a free communication between the two. Each hut of the Health Camp measures only 12 feet by 7, and five persons, often of different families and of different castes and creeds, are huddled in each hut, with no partition to separate them, or even males from females. They must all cook, bed, board and lodge in the same small hut. When such is the Health Camp, your Excellency's Memorialists humbly submit that it will be a cruel mockery to remove the people from their roomy, convenient, distant, and healthy huts, and coop them up in the so-called Health Camp.

On this statement, one cannot see why the Plague Committee should not let the people alone. Even if isolated cases occur in the huts, the people of a group can be in no greater danger than in the Health Camp, and other groups are presumably at a safe distance. There was no difficulty of this sort when Mr. Carmichael was chairman —another example of the power of the individual officer for good or for evil.

The Rev. J. Page Hopps writes as follows in the *Coming Day*:—

> For what part is Sir H. H. Fowler rehearsing? He lately went out of his way to bless and praise all our governmental doings in India, and to snub the much-needed little band of reformers; and now he comes to the rescue of Mr. Chamberlain and his friends by declaring that the assault upon the African Republic is "a wholly necessary" one, and the worst of it is that when we look into his reasons we find that they resolve themselves into the robber's reasons. In plain English, we made a mistake when we gave back the stolen country to its owners, and we must repair the mistake by stealing it now. Sir H. H. Fowler did not put it in that way. It is not the fashion. But that is about what it came to, and that is the meaning of "necessary."

It is commonly said that Sir H. Fowler, in spite of all vagaries, retains the confidence of Liberal Nonconformists. He clearly does not retain the confidence of all of them.

We are glad to observe that Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., of Madras, propose to bring out a new monthly periodical, under the title of the *Indian Review*. The name indicates a wide scope and a courageous hopefulness. The outline of the normal contents is quite catholic, embracing a large variety of general and special topics. The first number will appear on January 1 next. Everything will, of course, depend upon the treatment of the subjects, and we confidently anticipate that the enterprise will be conducted so as to commend itself to a wide circle of supporters. All success to the *Indian Review!*

Though it was some person of considerable weight who stated as his deliberate opinion that "Lord Lytton was everything that an Indian Viceroy should not be," there is one respect, at least, in which we may venture to qualify that sweeping verdict. For instance, in nearly all the reviews of his daughter's history of her father's Indian Administration we find quoted this sentence from one of his lordship's many letters to the Marquis of Salisbury: "To secure completely, and efficiently utilise the Indian aristocracy is, I am convinced, the most important problem now before us." The reviewers generally recognise that the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India in the grand Imperial Durbar at Delhi, on New Year's Day, 1877, was a sincere attempt, so far as ceremony and pageant could go, to "secure" the prestige and fealty of the Princes and Chiefs of India; and, as Lord Lytton proposed in writing to Mr. Disraeli, "to rally (them) round the British Crown as its feudal head." But none of the reviewers seem to have mentioned the further and more special effort then made by the romantic and poetic Governor-General to "efficiently utilise" those powers and potentates. In our issue of May, 1897 (p. 158), they will find recorded and rescued from oblivion the truly imperial institution established and duly formulated by Lord Lytton just after the picturesque panorama was folded up. This was the formation of the Imperial Council of India, the first members of which, designated "Counsellors of the Empress," will be found duly enumerated as above. The text of the Order can there be read, in which it is announced that "her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom and Empress of India, being desirous of seeking . . . . the counsel and advice of the Princes and Chiefs of India . . . . has authorised me through the Principal Secretary of State for India to confer, and I do hereby confer"—the dignity and functions above mentioned.

If it be remarked that little or nothing has been heard of this princely Council since the pageant that preceded its institution faded into the glamour of history, this cannot be made any reproach against Lord Lytton. For he did his part, and did it well, being warmly supported in his design at the time by persons of distinction, including H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who was much interested in the object of "securing" "counsel and advice" from these "living title-deeds" of our Indian Empire, many of whom he had a few months before made his personal friends. But it may be asked, what sort of duties could these "Counsellors of the Empress" be expected to undertake, or in respect of what matters of State could their "advice" be suitably invited? This practical and business-like side of Lord Lytton's project had been anticipated, and to a large extent thought out years before his advent. This, also, is explained in our sketch of the scheme published two years ago. If that be considered too concise, the matter can be followed up in various papers and debates reported in the earlier volumes of the East India Association's Journal.

So far as to retrospect of Lord Lytton's new and brilliant imperialism. Since his time much has occurred affecting official estimate of the political status of Indian Princes and Chiefs. This has been too much in the direction of lowering or attenuating that estimate, a tendency which may be traced in the two volumes surveying that large subject written by a Punjab and a Bombay Civilian, respectively. A sardonic observer might remark that the poetic Viceroy's suggestion to "efficiently utilise" our Indian Princes has been adopted rather in the sense of vassals than "Counsellors," by inducing them, under more or less "moral pressure," to provide from their own resources the "Imperial Service Troops" added to the military strength and unproductive expenditure of India as a whole.

GILGIT AND CHITRAL.[1]

COLONEL DURAND inherits a facile pen as well as a soldierly bearing, though the tone of the school of his discipline has changed not a little from the days of his gallant and distinguished father. Having been Military Secretary to the Viceroy of India from 1894 to 1899, during the five years immediately succeeding the five years with which his volume deals, he could not be expected to offer "dissertations on frontier policy," or "criticisms or attacks on those who direct that of the Government of India," especially as he acknowledges that he has no grounds for such criticism and regards controversy about forward or backward policy as "battle with windmills." It has been his aim, he says, "merely to give a faithful account of the policy pursued on the Gilgit frontier, of the steps taken to give it effect, and of the result attained"—"a plain and unvarnished tale" of his experiences as British Agent at Gilgit in 1889-94. It is quite true that "the man on the frontier sees but his own square on the chess-board, and can know but little of the whole game in which he is a pawn." It is also true that, when he has been "behind the scenes" as Military Secretary to the Viceroy and has seen a good deal of the game, there is reason in not criticising his superiors. There is also policy, as witness Mr. Thorburn's case. There may, in a sense, be disloyalty as well, though such disloyalty may involve a very much higher loyalty—a loyalty to truth and justice or, let us say, to the Empire. But of course adverse criticism depends on the point of view, and Colonel Durand, looking with official eyes, naturally sees nothing to reproach in the official procedure.

Yet for all his depreciation he distinctly takes his side, though with a certain difference. The first question is: What right has the British Indian Government in Gilgit? Colonel Durand replies:—

> The Sikhs, during the time they ruled Kashmir, had been drawn into crossing the Indus at Bunji, owing to the persistent aggression of their Gilgit neighbours. The Dogras, the present rulers of Kashmir, had inherited their responsibilities, and had added to them by contracting agreements with the neighbouring States. As the suzerain power the responsibilities of Kashmir became ours, and it recognised that the Hindu Kush for these [five] hundreds of miles must be our natural frontier.

So it is an obscure and unverified case of original sin, complicated by later acquisitions of trouble by predecessors of ours, the whole being a *damnosa hereditas* accruing to the Indian Government. Even then the argument halts. For, without quibbling over the inauspicious term "suzerainty," we observe that some of the districts and States comprised in the frontier territory dominated from Gilgit were, on Colonel Durand's own admission, not under the direct rule of Kashmir, but only tributary to Kashmir, which is a very different matter. Here is but an example of the thick haze of title to interference which clouds the official vision and plays such a disastrous part in the relations of the Government of India to the tribesmen of the North-West. Since the advent of spheres of influence boundaries both natural and constitutional have become antiquated and obsolete restrictions.

There comes a point where Colonel Durand finds it expedient to set forth why it is that Gilgit is important. He says:—

> It is a poor valley, separated from India by snow passes, situated on the far side of the Indus at the extreme verge of Kashmir territory. Why, it has been asked, should it be worth our while to interfere there whatever happened? The answer is, of course, Russia. She had advanced practically to the Hindu-Kush; it was necessary to see that she did not cross it.

Just so. But then, it will be observed, we are leagues away from our responsibilities as suzerain successors to the engagements of Kashmir. Colonel Durand does not specify these responsibilities, but we should fancy they hardly included protection against a Russian invasion. No, we are face to face with the Russian scare, which has befooled our Indian Government so strangely. Let us see more definitely what Colonel Durand has in his mind on this point, noting incidentally that he scouts the idea of the passage of a Russian "army" by this route. He proceeds:—

> No man in his senses ever believed that a Russian *army* would cross the Pamirs and attack India by the passes of Hunza and Chitral, but we could not overlook the fact that in 1885, when war hung in the balance, some thousands of her troops were moved down towards the Pamirs. What was this for?—hardly for change of air or to shoot big game, as the British public were asked to believe later, when similar moves were made. The object was to get a footing on the south side of the Hindu-Kush, and to paralyse numbers of our troops who would have to be kept in observation of possible Russian lines of advance. Further, I have no hesitation in saying—and I know every inch of the country and every important man in it—that at the time of which I am now writing, had war broken out between us and Russia, there was absolutely nothing to prevent a Russian officer with a thousand Cossacks from reaching Astor in ten days after crossing the passes of the Hindu-Kush, and from watering his horses in the Woollar Lake four days later.

The Kashmir troops "would have gone like chaff before the wind"; "public opinion, both in India and England, could not fail to be seriously stirred"; and "let people consider for a moment what a born leader like Skobelef would have made of a chance like this."

We really do not see why anyone should ask the reason of Russia's moving troops "towards the Pamirs" after the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1873 had conceded to her almost the whole Pamir region. Between 1873 and 1885, though only a period of a dozen years, there does seem not inadequate time for any British precautions that might seem necessary on the Kashmir side; and if the Kashmir force would have been scattered like chaff before a thousand Cossacks in 1885, what is to be said of the British Government and of the Government of India? Sir Henry Rawlinson may not have been in his senses, but he certainly regarded the Boroghil Pass as capable of admitting the passage of an army; and Lord Roberts, in his great speech in the House of Lords on March 7 last year, though he considered "the chance of a successful attack upon India from that direction as infinitesimal," still spoke as if "2,000 or 3,000 Cossacks" might "cross either the Kilik, Dorah, or Boroghil Pass." But, assuming that war broke out and several thousand Cossacks under a new Skobelef invaded our Chitral and Gilgit "sphere of influence," what would have become of them? Colonel Durand no doubt is aware of the Russian plan of campaign in 1878, and perhaps he also knows what Mr. Thorburn has said about it. Mr. Thorburn says this:—

> The whole plan of campaign was preposterous, born of the ignorance of outside facts which characterises most Russians. Had the armed rabble of the mountains descended to meet our regular troops in the plains, the bigger their swarms the larger would have been the slaughter, the more dangerous their temper for the Russians. Probably, as soon as armed, they would have preferred the easier, the safer, and more remunerative game of turning upon their Russian inciters to martyrdom, and have killed and plundered them, until the adventure—had its execution been seriously pushed—would have recoiled on its projectors, and ended in a disastrous fiasco for Russian interests in Central Asia.

Besides, the difficulties encountered by Colonel Durand himself would necessarily be encountered by any Russian Skobelef—the shifty and fierce temper of the tribesmen, the ruggedness of the country, the strain on the carriage and commissariat. Just consider the road between Astor and Bunji, for instance:—

> It is impossible to exaggerate the vileness of this portion of the road; it plunged down over a thousand feet of tumbled rock, in steps from six inches to two feet deep; then for a mile it ran ankle-deep in loose sand filled with sharp-edged stones; it crossed shingle slopes which gave way at every step; it passed by a shelf six inches wide across the face of a precipice; in fact it concentrated into those five miles every horror which it would be possible to conceive of a road in the worst nightmare. The culminating point was that, for the whole way from top to bottom, there was not a drop of water to be found on it, not an atom of shade. . . . . The road was so execrable that ponies which had made the trip once from Astor to Bunji were always considered unfit for further work without a fortnight's rest and good grazing. The Hattu Pir was a Golgotha; the whole six thousand feet was strewn with the carcases of expended baggage animals, and in more than one place did we find a heap of human bones.

Again, on the way to Mastuj:—

> The road the first day was very bad in parts; one awful cliff, across which it seemed to run for miles, gave but just room for a horse to move along its face.

Once more, when Colonel Durand was expecting to have to reinforce Nomal at a moment's notice from Gilgit, a distance of eighteen miles, he prepared the road. Thus:—

> In winter the road ran down into the bed of the river, and mules could use it, but when the snows began melting and poured their floods down the valleys the lower road became impassable, and only men using the upper path could reach Nomal. . . . . The road was therefore taken in hand in November 1890, and in a couple of months we had driven a good six-foot road through the bad piece. It was not a pleasant road to ride over when it was finished, for there were sheer drops of two and three hundred feet into the river below, but it sufficed. The last hundred yards of the worst bit of cliff nearly broke our hearts. The hillside was formed of alternate layers of

[1] "The Making of a Frontier: Five Years' Experiences and Adventures in Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral and the Eastern Hindu-Kush." By Colonel Algernon Durand, C.B., C.I.E. With portrait, map, and illustrations. (London: John Murray.)

sand and loose water-worn stones, and, cut back as we would, we could not get to firm ground. Four times our carefully built supporting walls went with a run. The men were in despair; even my ever-cheery Major Gokul began to despond.

The invasion, or even the disturbance, of India in these parts seems the most preposterous of chimeras. Colonel Durand's descriptions impress this feeling page on page. The political results of our presence at Gilgit and Chitral appear in the Hunza-Nagar Expedition and the Indus Valley Rising, both of which the author describes. Colonel Durand thanks God that he never met with the frontier officers that had the mind to stir up a war "for the pure lust of conquest or for the sake of their own paltry ambition," and, if one may judge from his book, he himself sincerely detests any such practice, and felt weighed down by the "terrible responsibility" to avoid any such results. But we know that a late Commander-in-Chief, of wider experience and clearer insight, has confessed to a very different opinion. In any case, the situation renders a collision all but inevitable. Colonel Durand writes brightly and modestly, and, we believe, in sober sincerity. His work is most interesting in every respect—as regards the personages and people, the ways of the inhabitants, the difficulties and the beauties of the country, and the whole course of his official action. It is, if not expressly intended, yet felt, by him that it exhibits an ample justification for the revival of the Gilgit Agency. To our mind, it proves to demonstration the utter folly and mischief of British interference in these remote, inhospitable, and untraversable regions.

RÁJÁ BROOKE.[1]

RÁJÁ BROOKE will always be the great hero of romantic adventure, whose strange career seems more fitted to an earlier century than ours. Sailing away in his yacht to gain some fame by geographical discoveries and to open up a new field for "Christianity and commerce," he is found establishing himself as an independent ruler in Borneo, clearing the seas of pirates, whom he slays by the thousand, and triumphing over all his enemies. The Chinese revolt and drive him as a fugitive from his capital. At Westminster great orators denounce him. But the Chinese are overcome and the orators grow silent, and Brooke lives to hand on his principality to one of his own blood and to return to his native land in a poverty more honourable to him than all his victories. Sir Spenser St. John tells the tale with an open and candid admiration for his old leader which must impress the sternest critic. To be so loved by his followers is itself a weighty testimony in the Rájá's favour. And indeed it is evident that Brooke was no vulgar adventurer, and that however anomalous was his position it was in part at least redeemed by the nobility of his character and the breadth of his sympathy. If he owed something to force he owed much more, so far as the people of Sarawak were concerned, to the confidence which all had in his justice and good faith. Nor did he lack the proof of this. When he fled, a hunted fugitive, from the Chinese the Malays vied with each other in coming to his aid; "never during the height of his power and prosperity did he receive so much sympathy, tender attention, and delicate generosity" as in the hour of his adversity. To have gained the hearts of his subjects was surely the greatest of his conquests.

But does it therefore follow that his antagonists at home were entirely in the wrong or that their action was without justification? Richard Cobden holds an honourable place in the roll of British Statesmen, and his name will always be bound up with a great victory in the progress of the nation. Joseph Hume was the most public-spirited and disinterested of men, who during long years devoted himself with singular tenacity and perseverance to the advocacy of causes which could bring him neither popularity nor personal advantage. There never was a member of Parliament who thought less of office, or cared less for party. It was natural enough that Sir James Brooke, when attacked, should hit back; but does it serve any useful purpose for his followers, now that the combatants on either side sleep in their honoured graves, to gird at the reputation of Joseph Hume, whose efforts for peace and good government may well outweigh the more showy exploits of the Rájá of Sarawak. It is true that in attacking a man whose exploits seemed terrible in execution and dangerous in example, they made the mistake of attributing to him some of the vices of his class, from which the Rájá himself was curiously free. But in doing so it should not be forgotten that they relied greatly on the testimony of Mr. Wise, who had been Brooke's confidential agent; and if it were a sin or a folly to trust Mr. Wise, then the Rájá had himself for many years been guilty of the same offence. Nor will all agree that the attacks were in every point unwarranted. Though one acknowledges all the virtues of Sir James Brooke, there was, nevertheless, no little danger in letting his acts pass without reprobation. That one and the same man should fill the positions of an independent prince, of the ruler of an English colony, and of the representative of his country at a Native court; that he, armed with his official authority and his great knowledge of the country, should be able to obtain the aid of British vessels of war against tribes whom he might denounce as pirates; and that none of these pirates should ever be brought to trial, or have their guilt declared by an impartial tribunal—all this shows a concentration of irresponsible power which in worse hands might have produced terrible evils. If his critics overstated the case against the Rájá personally, they did so in the pursuit of a great public object, and in attacking a system fraught with evil possibilities.

Nor is it necessary to go beyond the covers of Sir Spenser St. John's book to see this. The Commission of Enquiry, favourable to Sir James in every other respect, declared against the union of such different offices in one person though it had been in their opinion beneficial in this particular case. But the subsequent history of Sarawak is even more to the point. After the Rájá returned to Europe, his representatives constituted themselves the supporters of an amiable person who commenced a civil war by murdering a rival chief and eleven of his women and children, and they even interfered by arms in the territory of the Sultan of Brunei. Fortunately they were no longer in a position to obtain the services of her Majesty's ships of war.

If it be asked in what points the Rájá was so superior to all other buccaneers, it may be said that there were two: (1) he was not seeking either plunder or forced trade; (2) he had a most remarkable sympathy with his people, and a great insight into their character and feelings. He had, indeed, once attempted something in the way of trade, but it was a signal failure; and he always declined to enter into the schemes of Mr. Wise to hand the country over to a commercial company. He believed that "throwing capital *en masse* into an undeveloped country would only produce disappointment and loss." In his view "everything must advance gradually." On the other hand, to have made Sarawak a Crown colony "would have proved an expensive failure, as the people were not sufficently advanced to bear the necessary taxation."

It is, however, under the second head that Brooke's conduct is most interesting and instructive, throwing as it does by contrast a light on one of the weak places of our rule in India. Sir Spenser St. John says:—

> The peculiarity of the Rájá's system was to treat the Natives, as far as possible, as equals; not only equals before the law but in society.

Even before he started for Borneo, Sir James had declared that any government set up in those parts should

> be directed to the advancement of the Native interests and the development of Native resources rather than by a flood of European colonisation, to aim at possession only, without reference to the indefeasible rights of the Aborigines.

He instituted a Council at Sarawak in which he and two other Europeans sat with four Malay Chiefs. He relied entirely on the support of the Natives for his position in Borneo. The military forces were purely Native; and though there was a corps of English civilian officers, the bulk even of the civilians belonged to the country.

The Rájá not only treated the people well himself: he trained up his officers to do the same. His biographer has left us a pretty picture of the way in which the Native chiefs would drop in of an evening, and the easy intercourse established between them and the Rájá's household. When, however, some of his officers married, this intercourse grew slack. Sir Spenser even goes so far as to say:—

> Gentlemen who govern Native States should not marry. . . .

[1] "Rájá Brooke. The Englishman as Ruler of an Eastern State." By Sir Spenser St. John, G.C.M.G. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Marriage immediately separates the governors from the governed. Ladies as a rule cannot be brought to understand that the Natives can in any case be considered as equals, and are apt to despise them accordingly. With such ideas, how can bonds of sympathy exist between the rulers and the ruled?

Sir James himself did not mince his words in speaking on the treatment of subject peoples by Europeans:—

Good temper, good sense, and conciliatory manners are essential to the good government of Natives, and on this point it is that most Europeans are so grossly wanting. They always take [with them] their own customs, feelings and manners, and in a way force the Natives to conform to them, and never give themselves the trouble of ascertaining how far these manners are repugnant to the Natives.

And his biographer adds some words which go far to account for many of our difficulties in India:—

In my long experience I could scarcely name a dozen men whom I have seen treat Native races as they should be treated, and most of these were among the devoted followers of Rájá Brooke. His own manners were perfect.

This judgment ought to give pause to those who think the great aim of England should be to enlarge her empire and bring more and still more Native races under her sway. The words and examples of Sir James Brooke in this respect are well worthy of the attention of all those concerned with the government of India, and may well endear him to the people of that country, where he was born and where he passed the early unnoticed years of his manhood. Though his fame was gained far from her shores, India may yet find in his conduct many lessons that may be turned to her own advantage. Is it too much to hope that Englishmen in India will one day have for the people of that country the same honourable sympathy that the Rájá of Sarawak cherished for the much less civilised inhabitants of Borneo?

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

THE PROGRESS OF FAMINE.

[From an Indian Correspondent.]

Bombay, November 18.

The famine is making rapid strides in all the afflicted tracts, especially in Bombay and the Central Provinces. Official reports state that a week ago there were about eight lakhs of the starving on relief works in all India. Of these the number for Bombay was one and a-half lakh. The large number already dependent on State and private charity is proof of the severer character of the present famine as compared with that of 1896-97; and the worst feature of it is the apprehended scarcity of drinking water as summer approaches. That season will be a most trying one for the sufferers and for the organisers of relief. They may measure their food grains and regulate the supply; but who will measure the quantity of water which each thirsty soul should have during the twenty-four hours of each day? The Famine Code is innocent of any reference to the supply of drinking water, just as it is about fodder for cattle. In all probability the dismal events of the coming six months will necessitate the appointment of a third Commission to recommend the best means for securing a fairly adequate supply of grass for domestic cattle, and a reasonable quantity of drinking water for man and beast. There is a small section in the revised Famine Code which enjoins Forest Officers to open reserved forests for cattle grazing during a famine. But it can hardly serve any practical purpose. The Government of India will have seriously to consider ways and means to combat the evils of want of fodder and water which may accompany future scarcity or famines. As Mr. Justice Ranade observed in his speech at the public meeting in the Town Hall on the 16th inst., this want of water and grass is a new feature of the prevailing distress which will have to be taken note of.

How is the Government of India going to combat this new foe? It is not an easy problem. The practical wisdom and experience of administrators of the character of Sir Antony MacDonnell would prove most valuable for the purpose. Only men like him can advise the Government in the matter. If the Government makes every preparation years beforehand for mobilisation of troops and for transport, with a view to repel external foes, and if in the prosecution of such objects it spends crores, not lakhs, what is there to prevent it from spending equal sums with a view to being fully prepared to meet the internal foe whenever he chooses to make his appearance? Preparedness is the principle which guides its expenditure in reference to army mobilisation. Why should not the same principle guide its expenditure in connexion with future famines, so that man and beast may have at least a sufficiency of grass and water? Here once more comes in the question of the construction of wells, tanks and reservoirs all over those large tracts which the Government calls "insecure"—tracts where famine commonly occurs so soon as the monsoon fails either partially or wholly. This is a question which might be easily solved if the Government were wise enough to seek advice and suggestion in the right quarter. An engineer like the late Sir Arthur Cotton could soon tell it what to do and how to set about the work. Again, the heavy mortality of plough-cattle should suggest some other means of carrying on the ordinary operations of Indian agriculture. Is it impossible to invent ploughs which could be worked without the aid of bullocks? Gas engines are being used with the utmost efficiency and economy in other industries. What is there to prevent the Indian Government from offering a prize for a plough which shall have the merits (1) of simplicity in working, without animal aid, and (2) of cheapness. For it is superfluous to state here that the Indian peasant is neither so skilful nor so rich as to afford any complex plough. He must till the soil with the utmost simplicity and ease and at the least cost. With the invention of such a plough we should have solved a great difficulty and done some good besides by increasing fertility. Augmented production is a *sine qua non* of the Indian agricultural situation; and that inventor will be a benefactor of the Indian community who can give the rayat the plough he needs. But the first step must be taken by the Government of India. It is indeed deplorable to see how far behind every other civilised State our Government is in stimulating agriculture, which in this country must for a long time to come be the backbone of prosperity. How many millions it has squandered on the frontiers that might have been more usefully spent on such a vital object!

We had a crowded meeting on the 16th in our local Town Hall to raise funds once more for the famine-stricken. Twenty-eight thousand rupees were announced on the spot, and when one remembers the very influential secretaries the meeting nominated, there can be no doubt that the sum will reach over a lakh and a-half. The fountain of Bombay charity is well-known. It is never dry, and we all hope that it will flow copiously on this occasion, when our necessities are greater, and when English philanthropy may perchance fail to respond as generously as it did three years ago since a solemn call is being made on England to relieve the widows and orphans of those who have shed their blood in the South African war. A feature of the meeting was the warm appreciation of the Governor's sympathy throughout these three years of travail and woe, of famine and plague—appreciation to which the Hon. Mr. Mehta gave vigorous expression in a speech as felicitous as it was just. Whatever else may be the sins of omission and commission of Lord Sandhurst—and they are legion—there cannot be two opinions as to his energy and efforts in these two matters. High and low, rich and poor, all have with one voice acknowledged them. It is to be hoped that Lord Sandhurst will yet increase his popularity by releasing the Sirdars Natu, who are still on parole, without any semblance of justice, and without being brought to trial.

Madras, too, had its meeting on Monday last to enter an emphatic protest against the recent Resolution of the Government of Madras that educational officers and students should rigidly steer clear of politics and political demonstrations. This is on new thing. The Bombay Government is as bad as its sister of Madras in this respect. The covert hostility of the entire Administration to the Congress and Congress politics is notorious. It is born of the spirit of repression that is now rampant. The Madras people have done right in giving so public and so sympathetic an expression to their view of documents worthy only of a Russian or even Turkish Government.

It is stated that good progress has now been made by the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure with the consideration of Lord Welby's draft report. In quarters friendly to the interests of the Indian taxpayers disappointment is expressed at the absence of recommendations from this document and at its curious disregard of the evidence tendered by the Indian witnesses. It is now considered practically certain that a minority report will be drawn up. The importance of the Commission's labours as marking a new point of departure in Indian politics may depend largely on this latter document.

THE POLICY OF REACTION IN INDIA.

COERCION OF TEACHERS IN MADRAS.

With reference to the important changes introduced into the Government's educational rules in Madras, a Madras correspondent writes (November 16): In answer to a question in the Legislative Council the Government have promised to hear representations on the matter. The shadow never goes back on the dial. It is feared that Government will enforce the rule regarding teachers. That means that an intelligent, loyal and educated class will be denied their liberty to take part in the Congress. Such a regulation may become the Czar. Some years ago the Under-Secretary of State for India declared in the House of Commons that the object of the British Government was to raise India intellectually and morally. Is this the way to do it? If Governments are to act like this how can they expect affection from their subjects? When we want representation we are told that we must show our fitness for it; but when educated Indians take part in politics attempts are made to hush them up. The Hon. Mr. Eardley Norton sent six questions to the Government to be answered in the Council, but Government disallowed three of the questions. They are these:—

Is the Government aware that such rules will have the effect of silencing men of the type of its late member of the Legislative Council, Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu, who may happen to be trustees of institutions receiving State-aid?

Does the Government regard such an end as desirable?

Does the Government regard as politic a scheme which may be received by the great bulk of educated Indian gentlemen as unjust and retrogressive, and which may have the dangerous result of hereafter turning to concealed discontent the open utterances and criticisms of to-day?

Yesterday a great meeting was held at the Pachiappa's Hall to protest against the regulation. So great was the crowd that the authorities apprehended danger, and there was a proposal to hold an open-air meeting. Never before has such enthusiasm and excitement been exhibited. Fortunately all the European educationists in aided schools are against the measure. The Rev. Dr. Miller, the principal of the Madras Christian College, is opposed to it. He wrote a sympathetic letter to the president of the meeting. The Teachers' Guild has protested against the new rule. The managers of aided institutions in Madras have expressed their disapproval. The Madras newspapers are equally against it. It is to be hoped that the wisdom of the statesmen will prevail and not the unreasoning folly and prejudice of irresponsible Anglo-Indians. It is a sad thing that in the closing years of her Majesty's rule such unjust, mischievous and retrograde measures should be enacted, and that instead of attempting to win the hearts of the people the authorities should make them discontented. The measure is the outcome of unreasoning panic and unjust suspicion against educated Indians. This suspicion is insidiously and assiduously cultivated by interested mischief-makers and opponents of Indian aspirations. As on other occasions, the educated Indian who has read the history of England and her glorious literature asks within himself what can all this be due to? We console ourselves with the reflection that her Majesty's representatives are misinformed by mischievous men, and that, in spite of all this, in the end England will do justice to India.

The following editorial article entitled "Aided Schools and Politics" appeared in the well-known Anglo-Indian journal, the *Madras Weekly Mail* for November 16 last:—

The *Fort St. George Gazette* of the 31st ultimo contains the new Grant-in-Aid Code, which, whilst there are in it some changes harmless and perhaps even beneficial, contains others which seriously curtail the liberty of those in the Madras Presidency who happen to be engaged in the beneficent work of education. One new provision in the revised Code is this, namely, that when managers apply for aid they must, amongst other things, declare "that the manager and teachers of the institution will not take part either directly or indirectly in political movements or agitation, and that they will not attend political meetings without the previous consent of the Director." It is impossible to imagine any valid reason for such an arbitrary measure, which simply takes away the rights of citizenship from many non-officials who, so far as we know, in this Presidency at any rate, have never done anything which in the least justifies such a drastic and all-embracing rule. In drawing attention to this and other cognate clauses last Saturday we remarked:—"It seems a pity that, in taking the initiative in this matter, the Government of Madras has not given any indication of the *raison d'être* for thus suddenly tightening the reins." Since then we have done our best to ascertain the objects and reasons of the local Government in this matter, but we have failed, and we can only suppose that it has acted on a general mandate from a higher authority, and that in so acting it has gone wider and deeper than its instructions warranted.

Nevertheless, Government is bound in common fairness to those engaged in educational work in this Presidency—a work which, even though aided by Government, also aids Government in no less degree—to express its objects and reasons frankly and deliberately. This it has not done yet; but it will be bound to do so sooner or later. The particular clause we have quoted above is, moreover, loosely worded, for no definition is given of the terms "manager" and "political meeting." Does "manager" mean the governing body of an institution, or only the person who is appointed to correspond with the Department? If the former, then if the rule is to be consistently carried out a member of the Legislative Council who may happen to be a trustee or a member of a committee of an institution must henceforth cease to be a legislator, for the meetings of the Legislative Council are political meetings. Those members of the Senate of the University who happen to be the managers, professors or teachers will be disenfranchised as regards the elections of the University Member of Council, for such election is a political act. Henceforth all such men must give up their present right, as members of the public, to attend meetings of the Legislative Council, for these are political meetings. They would even be debarred from attending a meeting convened to declare sympathy with the Home Government in its South African difficulties, or to give pecuniary aid to the refugees from the Transvaal. Another curious anomaly to be noticed is this. While a teacher of a Government institution is merely forbidden to attend a political meeting "where the fact of his presence is likely to be misconstrued or to impair his usefulness as a public servant," the manager or teacher of an aided institution is forbidden to attend political meetings at all, without the previous consent of the Director.

Another new rule is this: "Government reserves to itself the right to forbid or to proscribe the use of any book or books in Aided Schools and Colleges." Now in Section 377 of the Education Commission's Report we read that there is "no necessity to restrict Aided Schools to the use of the text-books authorised for Government institutions. Any such interference with schools under private management would be inconvenient and clearly opposed to the general educational policy of Government." And Section 464 is clearer still:—"We then recommend that greater latitude be given to the managers of Aided Schools in fixing the course of instruction and the *medium through which it is conveyed*," which clearly means that a Local Government is not to prescribe the text-books, or the medium of instruction. There can be no objection to Government's proscribing a seditious or impure book, but beyond that it ought not to go. It now claims the right to prescribe as well as to proscribe. Moreover, there is already a permanent Text Book Committee, appointed by Government itself, and to it may well be left the duty of seeing that no unsuitable books get into use. Under present circumstances, a book condemned by that Committee cannot be used; but the Committee cannot dictate to managers what particular book out of a number of equally good books shall be used.

The gravest matter of all, however, is that these changes have been made without any consultation with the managers of aided institutions, whereas the recommendation of the Education Commission was that "the Grant-in-Aid Rules be revised in consultation with the Managers of Schools" (Section 474). It also further recommends "that Conferences (1) of officers of the Education Department, and (2) of such officers with managers of aided institutions be held from time to time for the discussion of questions affecting education" (Section 349). Surely, such an important matter as the alteration of the Grant-in-Aid Code was a subject on which a Conference should have been called. Had this been done, such apparent ignorance of the Education Commission's Report would not have appeared. These few facts are sufficient to show that the revised Grant-in-Aid Code cannot possibly stand. The Government of India has plainly declared its policy, and it is not clear how principles so utterly divergent from it could ever be allowed to come into force. It is very much to be regretted that the "political" question has been raised, for it seems quite gratuitous, so far as any public knowledge of the state of this Presidency goes, and it opens the way for an agitation which may be very far-reaching in its influence, is sure to be violent and heated, and is certain to do much harm.

INTERPELLATION IN THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

We take from the *Madras Mail* the following report of questions asked and answers given in the Madras Legislative Council on November 14:—

By the Hon. Mr. E. Norton:—

Q.—xliii. Will the Government state the circumstances which have led to the change in the Madras Educational Rules forbidding managers and teachers of aided institutions from taking part, directly

or indirectly, in political movements or agitation without the previous sanction of the Director of Public Instruction?

The Hon. Mr. ARUNDEL replied:—

XLIII. The Government is not prepared to do so.

Q.—XLIV. Will Government lay on the table all the correspondence on the subject?

The Hon. Mr. ARUNDEL replied:—

XLIV. The Government is not prepared to do so.

Q.—XLV. Will the Government, in view of the many interests touched and of the public dissatisfaction already evoked by the notification in question, withdraw the same?

The Hon. Mr. ARUNDEL replied:—

The Government is not prepared to comply with the suggestion of the Honourable Member; but it will give careful consideration to any representation made on the subject. The new educational rules will not come into force until April 1, 1900, and therefore there is plenty of time for the consideration of any representations which may be made respecting the rules.

By the Hon. Mr. P. RATNASABHAPATI PILLAI:—

Q.—XLVI. Will Government be pleased to state the reasons which influenced it in introducing a rule in the revised Educational Grant-in-Aid Code prohibiting the managers and teachers of aided institutions from taking part in political movements, either directly or indirectly, without the previous consent of the Director of Public Instruction?

The Hon. Mr. ARUNDEL replied:—

XLVI. The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given to question XLIII put by the Hon. Mr. Norton.

By the Hon. Mr. C. VIJAYARAGHAVA CHARIYAR:—

Q.—XLVII. (a) With reference to the new provision in the Madras Grant-in-Aid Code that every application for aid made by the manager of an institution shall contain a declaration to the effect that he and the teachers of the institution will not take part, either directly or indirectly, in political movements or agitation, and that further they will not, without the previous permission of the Director of Public Instruction, attend political meetings, will the Government be pleased to state the circumstances under which these new conditions of aid have been deemed necessary?

(b) Has the Government made any rules for his guidance in this particular? If not, is it the intention of Government to do so?

(c) Have persons dissatisfied with the decision of the Director a right of appeal to the Government?

The Hon. Mr. ARUNDEL replied:—

XLVII. (a) The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given to question XLIII put by the Hon. Mr. Norton.

(b) No. The Government has not at present thought it necessary to issue any rules.

(c) The right of appeal to Government against an order of the Director of Public Instruction is not removed.

The *Madras Times* writes:—We may say positively that the talk of the hour is the new and now notorious educational edict that has just been promulgated, in accordance with which managers or teachers of government-aided schools are precluded from attending political meetings. . . . . In our own minds it is a most unreasonable edict. What would the world have been if schoolmasters had never been allowed to take part in politics? Schoolmasters have been politicians in all time. In ancient history we have the story of the lame schoolmaster who by his political songs inspired the soldiers to victory; and in modern times and present places we have at Calcutta the late headmaster of Harrow, who is positively "steeped in politics." Attempts to crush political aspirations universally fail and fail miserably; and the Government of Madras—or is it the Government of India?—could scarcely have conceived a more unwise decree than the one that has been passed.

The *Hindu* says:—Those who are responsible for the introduction of the novel rules of discipline into the Grant-in-Aid Code must have had in view, we believe, the widespread discontent which those rules were calculated to produce; and it is a wonder to us why so well realising the consequences of their act, they should have deliberately committed themselves to a policy which no right-thinking man could approve, and no loyal subject of her Majesty could submit himself to without a protest. The public mind was quite unprepared for this exhibition of suspicion and intolerance on the part of the Government; and especially in this Presidency where we have managed to get on so well, with whatever political discontent we may have had kept within the recognised bounds of decorum and prudence, this bolt from the blue will be regarded as quite undeserved and uncalled for. It is no matter whatever for surprise that since these ill-advised rules were published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, the public mind has been greatly agitated; and great indignation is expressed in all quarters at the unheard of method now devised for the suppression of political activity and agitation. There have been unmistakable indications within the last week that protests are coming from all quarters; educational bodies, political associations, and the general public have all been awakened to a sense of the danger that threatens their liberty as subjects of Britain, and they will in due course make their representations to the Government.

The *Madras Standard* writes:—What need can be met, and what useful purpose can be served, by this draconian restriction on the the activity and freedom of educated adult persons who may happen to be teachers or managers of educational institutions and who may be supposed to have their own mature opinions of men and measures which no official coercion can change, we fail to understand. Certainly, these people have not sold their soul for a mess of pottage. For the paltry help that Government give in the shape of grants to private schools, which really owe their existence to individual charity and to private effort and which as much benefit the State as the local community, it is absurd that such a heavy and disproportionate sacrifice should be demanded and that, not only should individual liberty be forfeited, but all the public good arising from its free and judicious exercise should be lost.

PLAGUE MEASURES IN INDIA.

PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF BELGAUM.

We have received from Mr. Narayan T. Datar, pleader in the District Court of Belgaum, the following copy of a memorial recently addressed to Lord Sandhurst. The memorial, we are informed, bore the signatures of more than 1,100 persons:—

To His Excellency the Right Honourable WILLIAM BARON SANDHURST, G.C.I.E., Governor and President in Council, Bombay.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of Belgaum, now residing in huts, most respectfully showeth:—

That your Excellency's Memorialists have learnt with considerable uneasiness and alarm that the Belgaum Plague Committee has commenced to inoculate the people staying in huts, and for that purpose has laid down in a notice the following principles for the guidance of the Superintendents of huts, viz., groups of huts form, for practical purposes, small villages or inhabited sites, and therefore when plague is discovered in any hut, the whole group should be removed. But as it would be impossible to move and rebuild the group at a few hours' notice, the inmates must take up quarters in the Health Camp for ten days unless they accept inoculation. The said notice says:—

> "The Chief Superintendent will see that when infected huts or groups of huts are evacuated, the roofs are at once taken off to prevent re-occupation."
>
> "These orders will apply to all huts included in the hut supervision area. That area may be extended from time to time according to the staff at the Chief Superintendent's disposal."

2. In 1897, Mr. Wingate, the then Plague Commissioner, on the occasion of his visit to Belgaum, advised the people most earnestly and eloquently that evacuation was the best remedy against plague. All the plague officers since then repeated the same advice. The experience gained by your Excellency's Memorialists during the past two years also taught them the same. On the strength of the advice so given and the experience so gained, your Excellency's Memorialists have been staying out for the past year or two beyond the Municipal and Cantonment limits of Belgaum, at a considerable distance from the city, to protect themselves from the ravages of plague, and also to put themselves beyond the operation of the precautionary and preventive plague measures, which, though undoubtedly carried on for saving the lives of people, have unfortunately proved to be very troublesome and inconvenient to them. Some of the sites occupied by a portion of your Excellency's Memorialists, were subsequently approved of by the Plague Committee in their notice, dated July 23, 1899, as suitable for erecting huts. The other sites were occupied by some of your Excellency's Memorialists long before the existence of the present Plague Committee, and most of them lie at a greater distance from the city than the approved sites and are in every way well suited for the huts of the people camping out.

3. The Plague Committee offered inoculation with certain privileges, as an option for evacuation. If your Excellency's Memorialists had any faith in inoculation and were willing to accept the option so offered, it would not have been necessary for them to quit, as they have done, their warm and safe houses in the city, to jeopardise their lives and their property in poor and unprotected huts, open to all the destructive elements of heaven, and suffer a number of privations and miseries in pouring rains and scorching heat, for want of proper arrangements and support on the part of Government. But still their comfort was that both plague and plague measures did not molest them as they molested the people in the city. If the Belgaum Plague Committee will now, for the first time, extend, without authority from Government, their jurisdiction to huts situated beyond the Municipal and Cantonment limits of Belgaum, within which limits only the Committee is constituted by the notification published in the Government Gazette at page 1898, to carry on their plague measures, your Excellency's Memorialists feel constrained to say that it does so with no other object than to force inoculation on the remaining portion of the inhabitants of Belgaum, now living in huts. Judging from the way in which the Plague Committee carried on its operations in the city, there will be no other alternative to your Excellency's Memorialists than to accept inoculation, as there was none to the people in the city. Only forty-eight hours' notice was given to the people to evacuate all the houses in so large a city as Belgaum. The population in the city on the day when the notice of evacuation was given, viz., August 26, 1899, was 12,622. But the Health Camp, to which the evicted people were to be sent, hardly afforded room for 400 persons. No arrangements whatsoever were made for protecting their houses and their property in the city or their huts outside. People knew not where to go with their wives and children, young and old, sick and suffering. And, for various reasons, it was absolutely impossible for many to quit the city. The order of wholesale evacuation was passed when the plague showed signs of a steady decrease. And even those wards which had presented almost a clean bill of health during the whole of the epidemic were also ordered to be evacuated. Inoculation was offered as an option to escape from the miseries of evacuation. Still the people would not readily get themselves inoculated. It was only when the thundering Superintendents and Supervisors, with a posse of armed police at their heels, dragged them out and locked and sealed their houses and

the threatened miseries were a stern reality staring them in the face, that the people not only helplessly accepted inoculation but would, at such a time, have accepted anything worse than inoculation.

4. Your Excellency's Memorialists humbly beg to submit that inoculation is not as good a remedy against plague as evacuation is. Of the persons inoculated in the city, during this epidemic, 209 caught plague, and 138 died. But almost no death occurred from plague among people who have accepted evacuation. A large portion of your Excellency's Memorialists are staying out in huts for the past two years. Though your Excellency's Memorialists had to go into the city daily on business, or for making purchases, none of them caught plague. It was only during the third epidemic that a few cases of plague occurred in huts, but the reason is not far to seek. During the first epidemic, and especially during the second, plague measures were conducted with due regard for the comfort and convenience of people; so no plague cases were clandestinely removed to huts. During the third epidemic also, all went well so long as Mr. Carmichael was the Chairman of the Plague Committee. It was only when Mr. Cappel was installed in the presidential chair that the plague measures of Belgaum became abnormally stringent. Inoculation is the main theme of Mr. Cappel. But as Government has not yet sanctioned forcible inoculation, very inconvenient and worrying plague rules were cleverly framed by the Plague Committee and inoculation was held out as a bait to escape from them. But those people who had not the courage to accept inoculation, fled to huts clandestinely with their plague-stricken patients, to avoid the after-troubles of the Plague Committee. And thus, owing to the stringency of plague measures, poison was brought there where there was none, and it is a sad irony of fate that the Plague Committee should now take advantage of its own work to force inoculation on the hut people.

5. Even though a few cases occurred in huts they never constituted a local infection. It is an established fact that poison does not spread from hut to hut as it does from house to house in the city. The few cases that occurred in huts were imported either from Belgaum or Shahapur. All of them occurred in different and distant groups, at considerable intervals from one another. All of them occurred after the incubative period of the germs in each case was long over. Thus the huts are never infected in the real sense of the term, so the measures and the rules, obviously framed for ill-ventilated and crowded houses in the city should not be made applicable to isolated and well-ventilated huts on open plains. Moreover a sort of relationship is created between people staying in huts, by virtue of which they are able to exercise a healthy moral influence over each other, detect sick cases if any, and check the spread of infection. The Plague Committee aims at nothing further. But the local self-management of the people secured all the good without entailing any trouble and botheration upon the people. When there was no interference of the Plague Committee, your Excellency's Memorialists made very successful arrangements for preventing the outbreak of plague in their huts, and could and did protect themselves till now. But the unnecessary interference of the Plague Committee now will make the successful arrangements of your Excellency's Memorialists lax and loose. When the city became infected your Excellency's Memorialists left their houses of their own free will, without any force or compulsion; similarly, if their huts too will be really infected, they will leave them of their own accord and will not wait till the Plague Committee declares them as infected. Your Excellency's Memorialists are threatened to be taken to what is called the Health Camp, in case they would not accept inoculation. It is absolutely a misnomer to denominate these huts by the appellation of Health Camp. The huts of the Health Camp are not as far from each other as the people's huts are. The Health Camp, moreover, is quite close to the infected city. Only a public road separates the two. The Contact camp, where infected people are placed, and where plague cases have occurred, stands quite close to the Health Camp, and there is a free communication between the two. Each hut of the Health Camp measures only 12 ft. by 7, and five persons often of different families, and of different castes and creeds are huddled in each hut, with no partition to separate them, or even males from females. They must all cook, bed, board and lodge in the same small hut. When such is the Health Camp, your Excellency's Memorialists humbly submit it will be a cruel mockery to remove the people from their roomy, convenient, distant, and healthy huts, and coop them up in the so-called Health Camp.

6. Your Excellency's Memorialists most humbly beg to express their sense of deep gratitude for the sympathy and the zeal your Excellency graciously manifested for the alleviation of the miseries of people in these sad times of plague and famine. And if the Civil and Military officers, entrusted with plague duty, were similarly sympathetic, the people of Belgaum would have been spared the misfortune of adding to the miseries of divine creation those of human creation also. But though the measures were conducted for the good of the people, your Excellency's Memorialists humbly beg to point out that they were not successful in checking the spread of plague. It is now beyond doubt that in spite of all the protective and preventive measures of Government, the plague takes its own course, increases till it attains its limit, and then gradually disappears of itself. During the first epidemic here, plague commenced in November, 1897, attained its height in the middle of January, 1898, and then gradually fell off until it disappeared by the end of April, 1898. During the second epidemic it commenced in the month of June, 1898, attained its limit in October, and disappeared in the month of March, 1899. Similarly during the third epidemic it commenced in April, 1899, reached its limit in the month of July, and has now almost disappeared in this month of October. The well-intentioned but ill-conducted plague measures did little or nothing in driving it away from Belgaum before its natural period. Even the boasted remedy of inoculation was of no avail, for though inoculation was commenced in the middle of July when plague was steadily on the decline, it has not vanished till now, but is taking its natural course. Thus while the measures of Government did little or no good, they only unfortunately caused inconvenience and trouble to the people, beggared the public coffers, starved public education and many other public works, and created only discontent among people.

7. Even though the huts of your Excellency's Memorialists are not infected, Mr. Cappel's Plague Committee, by virtue of its fanciful definitions, can make any hut and any group of huts infected. Your Excellency's Memorialists respectfully beg to quote from a notice issued by the Plague Committee:—

"Any group of huts in which a plague case has occurred during the present epidemic is to be considered infected.

"The definition of a group is at the discretion of the officer concerned. It is impossible to limit the area of infection by any measured distance from its source, and huts may often have to be dealt with as infected when at a considerable distance from the hut or huts in which plague has actually occurred.

"Persons who have arrived from Poona, or other infected places, and who are found in the huts will be considered as infecting these huts, and the whole group will be dealt with accordingly.

"Residents in groups of huts held to be infected under the above rules, will be removed to the Health Camp subject to the published privileges of inoculation."

Thus a hut in which an imported plague case occurred at the commencement of the epidemic so far back as six months, or even when no plague case has occurred in the group, if any person from Poona, however healthy he may be, is found in any hut, not only that hut but the whole group is, so declares the Belgaum Plague Committee, to be considered as infected and the inmates must go to the Health Camp unless they accept inoculation. Doctors vainly declare that the incubative period of the plague germs does not last beyond ten days. Besides the area to which the Plague Committee wants to extend its operation does not depend, as one might reasonably expect, upon the distance of the huts from the city but to quote once more the direction of the Plague Committee, "according to the staff at the Chief Superintendent's disposal." Thus with the false and mischievous definition of an infected area and with the staff at the Chief Superintendent's disposal that will increase and increase until the last coin in the pockets of the people, passing through the municipal coffers, reaches the hands of this staff, Mr. Cappel's Plague Committee can denounce all the new camps constructed again and again after each evacution by your Excellency's Memorialists, as infected, and pursue them with its evacuating order to the other end of the world till they accept inoculation. Of course "there is no such thing as compulsory inoculation in Belgaum!"

8. The Belgaum Plague Committee often declares that there is no compulsory inoculation here. Unfortunately the experience of the people is otherwise. All sorts of difficulties are thrown in the paths of the people until they accept inoculation. All persons whether sent to the health camp or to a contact camp are to be released, to quote from another notice issued by Mr. Carmichael, the District Magistrate,

"at any time after such removal if they accept inoculation, and they may return to their houses and will be subject to no further *disturbances* except that they will be responsible for the cleaning and the disinfection of their houses in the same way as original inoculees."

"N.B.—This is not quite in accordance with the rule that inoculation certificates must be ten days old to be recognised; but the slight anomaly does not matter. *The main object is to get the people inoculated somehow.*"

"Persons removed to a contact camp who refuse inoculation wil not be allowed to leave it by day or otherwise for purposes of trade or for any other reason, nor will they be allowed to return on discharge to their houses or to any other infected area."

"*Note.*—The object of this rule is again to encourage inoculation, and it is fully justified by the practices elsewhere and by the danger of uninoculated contacts spreading the disease. It must be strictly enforced and will require police guards and registers of arrivals and discharges to be maintained."

The notice from which your Excellency's Memorialists have quoted in para. 7 further states:—

"The people should be informed that their residence in the huts is permitted after inoculation during the present epidemic only. Care should be taken not to allow them to think that they will be permitted to occupy the huts indefinitely. But it is also not advisable at the present time to give any warning of an impending general evacuation of the camps. The object of the officers concerned should be to induce the people to return to their homes after accepting inoculation."

Your Excellency's Memorialists most humbly beg to submit that these quotations will prove beyond doubt that the main object of the Belgaum Plague Committee was to force inoculation on the people somehow. And evacuation was used as a means to an end. And what is more the notice of the impending evacuation which has already been terribly brought into operation, is not to be given lest the people go out, as some have already done, beyond the British territory, in Native States situated around Belgaum, and place themselves beyond the jurisdiction of the Belgaum Plague Committee. Besides, according to the above quotations, the people are not to be permitted to stay in their own huts beyond the present epidemic, but the officers concerned are to make it their business to drive the people back into the infected city after they accept inoculation, avowedly with the object of testing the protective power of inoculation. From all this it is plain that the often repeated statements of the Plague Committee that inoculation is not compulsory in Belgaum is not quite in accordance with truth.

9. The discontent caused by the measures of the Belgaum Plague Committee culminated in the strike of merchants. For a time all shops were closed, trade and commerce came to a stand-still, and the miseries of the people knew no bounds. It is the misfortune of the people of Belgaum that unsympathetic officers were entrusted with plague duty here. Huts, where not a single case of plague had occurred, were destroyed and the inmates sent to the Health Camp. All of a sudden the people would find that their huts were surrounded

before daybreak by a strong cordon of armed police supplied with extra ammunition as if the hut people were Budmashes, and they were mercilessly dragged out. The huts were demolished and the people were sent to the Health Camp unless they bared their arms before the doctor ready with the serum and syringe. Your Excellency's Memorialists were pained to read in papers that in reply to the Hon. Mr. Chhatre your Excellency was pleased to declare that the complaints of the people were unjustifiable. Your Excellency's Memorialists therefore humbly beg to submit that no sufficient enquiry seems to have been instituted to ascertain whether the complaints were justifiable or not. Your Excellency's Memorialists therefore humbly beg to suggest that a small mixed commission of European and non-official Native gentlemen be appointed to enquire whether the complaints of your Excellency's Memorialists are reasonable, and whether they deserve the redress they pray for. In reply to the telegram of some of your Excellency's Memorialists, your Excellency was pleased to refer them to the Plague Committee in the first instance. They accordingly sent a petition to the Plague Committee and received a reply, the copies of both of which your Excellency's Memorialists beg to annex to this. The reply will speak for itself. While the Plague Committee charges, without mentioning any grounds, some of your Excellency's Memorialists with making "written misrepresentations of facts and claiming an exclusive right to breed and disseminate plague," your Excellency's Memorialists most humbly assert that they never misrepresented any facts nor claimed any such right. The mixed Commission which your Excellency's Memorialists pray for, will be able to ascertain this. The way in which Mr. Cappel treats in public meetings gentlemen who do not agree with him is well known. Such treatment and such replies "without drawing very closely," as was very happily remarked by your Excellency in a very sympathetic speech in the Legislative Council, the people of this city at least and the officers of Government, and without "cementing the feelings of sympathy on the one hand and appreciation on the other" only serve to create acrimonious feelings between the two.

10. Your Excellency's Memorialists respectfully submit that they have already suffered miseries and privations during their camp life as they never before suffered in their whole lives. No arrangements whatsoever were made to protect the lives and the property of your Excellency's Memorialists. A number of thefts and robberies took place in huts. It was only the other day that a most cold-blooded murder and dacoity took place in one of the huts of your Excellency's Memorialists. Instead of increasing the police force only to attend upon the plague officers, and to help them in turning the people out of their houses and huts, your Excellency's Memorialists most humbly pray that a portion of that force might better be employed in protecting the lives and the property of the people in the huts.

In conclusion, your Excellency's Memorialists most humbly pray that for reasons stated above no plague rules and plague measures be made applicable to the people in huts, but that full and unrestricted liberty be given to your Excellency's Memorialists to continue their own successful arrangements for keeping out plague from huts.

And for this act of kindness your Excellency's Memorialists shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

BELGAUM, *October*, 1899. } Here follow over 1,100 signatures.

Camp Nagzari, Belgaum, September 16, 1899.

To the President, Plague Committee, Belgaum.

Sir,—We the undersigned inhabitants of Belgaum, now residing in huts on Nagzari, Circle No. II, most humbly beg to place before you the following for favourable consideration.

We have learnt with extreme uneasiness that the Plague Committee of Belgaum has extended the application of the city plague rules to huts outside.

In obedience to the Notice of October 17, 1898, issued by Mr. Carmichael, District Magistrate, we have been staying voluntarily since then on the Nagzari, which site has been approved of by the Plague Committee. Since then no plague rule was made applicable to us.

The object of our moving out of the city was two-fold. *Firstly*, we have had full faith in the efficacy of evacuation as the best remedy for keeping out plague; and *secondly*, we naturally thought that the stringent plague rules of the city would not be made applicable to huts. In having recourse to evacuation we did but follow the excellent advice of such eminent authority as Mr. Wingate, the then Plague Commissioner and of other Plague Authorities including yourself, who openly declared in public meetings that evacuation was the best remedy against plague. Our experience of the three epidemics has convinced us of the truth of the advice so given.

If the city plague rules or any other rule be made applicable to huts, they will cause unnecessary trouble and vexation to the people without any benefit whatsoever.

Our camp is absolutely free from plague. The arrangements which we have made for checking the spread of plague have been eminently successful. The unnecessary intervention of the Plague Committee, at a time when plague has almost disappeared both from the town and huts, would be a source of extreme vexation to us. One thing only we beg to bring to your kind notice is that we will never accept inoculation, to avoid which we have subjected ourselves to the miseries and inconveniences of a camp life. Experience, moreover, shows that mortality among the inoculated in the city was not small.

We therefore most humbly pray that the Plague Committee will not extend their jurisdiction to our huts and not make any plague rules applicable to us, but that full and unrestricted latitude be given to us to continue our own successful arrangements for the prevention of plague.

We sent, on the 6th instant, a telegram to His Excellency the Governor, briefly embodying the same prayer as above. His Excellency in reply has been pleased to direct us to you for redress in the first instance. We therefore beg to approach you with this petition and pray humbly for the redress mentioned above.

Kindly direct your reply, at your earliest convenience, to the address of Mr. N. T. Datar, B.A., Pleader, Belgaum.

We beg etc.

Reply to the petition from Mr. Narayan Datar and others living in the huts at Nagzari.

No. B.P. 524 of 1899.

Belgaum, September 19, 1899.

The Acting Commissioner and Chairman, Belgaum Plague Committee, has received the application of certain residents in the huts at Nagzari.

2. The applicants are well aware that there has been plague in their huts, and they are also aware that they must necessarily come under supervision exactly as residents in villages do, when the village is infected with plague. Presumably they do not claim an exclusive right to breed and disseminate plague to the public danger. When a village or camp is infected it is necessary to disinfect and move it for the safety of its occupants and for the public safety, subject to the authorised privileges of inoculation. The Belgaum Plague Committee is indifferent whether the applicants are inoculated or not; that is a matter for their own choice; and there is no such thing as compulsory inoculation. But the Committee will certainly not exclude the applicants' huts from all plague rules as desired, and no good is done by making written misrepresentations of facts.

3. If Mr. Datar will be good enough to call upon the Chairman, any further matters of enquiry will be explained to him. Or it is open to Mr. Datar to appear before the Plague Committee on any Wednesday at 8.30 a.m. when any representations will be listened to.

E. L. CAPPEL,
Acting Commissioner, S. D. and Chairman, Belgaum Plague Committee.

"THE PURRING OF THE TIGER?"

[FROM THE "NEW AGE."]

"The campaign against the plague," said Lord Curzon at Bombay (Nov. 9), "I know from experience, if it is to be successful, cannot be a campaign of compulsion, and can only be a campaign of moral suasion." Two days afterwards Lord Curzon repeated the same opinion at Poona. Speaking of inoculation he said: "Let no effort be spared . . . . to win by persuasion that which you cannot extort by force." Undoubtedly the Viceroy spoke on both occasions in absolute sincerity of heart and purpose. For not only had he previously got his own viceregal arm inoculated by way of authoritative example, but at the Etonian dinner before he set out for India he had declared his belief that it is only by "regard for the people's feelings," "by respect for their prejudices," and even "by deference to their scruples," that "we can obtain the acquiescence as well as the submission of the governed." Besides, as he said at Bombay, he had had "experience." Yes, and that too both in Bombay and in Poona: the experience of the splendidly successful plague administration of General Gatacre and Colonel Creagh, as against the high-handed operations of other officials, who contrived to rouse the injured feelings of the people to mutiny and rage. It is now judiciously forgotten that all the troubles of those times were attributed by Government officials and their lackeys in the Press to the pigheadedness and unclean propensities of the Natives, not to the inconsiderate and forcible measures of their rulers and administrators. But the fact remains that the popular view is now admitted to be right, and that, if the Government had listened to reason from the first, there would have been neither riot nor trouble nor dissatisfaction of any kind, nor would the plague administration have proved one whit less successful. The Government has been compelled to resort to "persuasion," and to acknowledge that "force is no remedy." So far good. But the historian will have to press the question why the policy of compulsion was allowed to be tried, or was ever even so much as entertained.

Plainly, however, the policy of "moral suasion" is on every ground vastly preferable to the policy of compulsion, especially when the policy of compulsion cannot be carried out on any tolerable terms. Mr. Montague Tigg saw this. "Now I'll tell you what it is," said Mr. Tigg "I'm a most confoundedly soft-hearted kind of fellow in my way, and I cannot stand by and see you two blades cutting each other's throats when there is nothing to be got by it." But in the case of the Government of India, there is a further consideration: there is so very much to be got by the pacific method of concilation. It was not simply that General Gatacre and Colonel Creagh managed to get their ends accomplished in the matter of plague, by their intelligence and sympathy: there was nothing that they could not have got from the people on these terms. Put the policy of moral suasion into full and honest operation, and the Government of India will proceed without jerk or creak, and turn out such results of beneficent prosperity as the authorities have never yet dared even to conceive. If our officials could only be brought to recognise the simplicity of the business, and to subordinate their foolish "superiority" to the claims of the Empire, the Indian millenium would at once be inaugurated. For Lord Curzon has to impress his officers not only with the advatages of applying moral suasion to the Indians, but also with the necessity of accepting similar applications from the other side. "If every civil servant," once wrote the late Dr. W. A. Hunter, "were made to feel that his prospects of professional advancement would be seriously retarded, or even jeopardised, by a liberal indulgence in the luxury of an offensive and overbearing manner, a great improvement would

rapidly take place." And half a century before, Colonel Jervis had pointed out—what everybody knew and recognised in those days—that "the secret of managing the Natives of India is to treat them as they are—as intelligent, open to reason and perfectly reconciled to any reasonable purpose made plain to their understandings." The recipe is just as effectual to-day as ever it was. The question is whether Lord Curzon is strong enough, in these degenerate days of officialdom in high quarters, to enforce or to persuade the honourable application of it. Three weeks after Sir John Lawrence took the reins in hand. "I rejoice," wrote Sir Charles Trevelyan, his Finance Minister, "that you have the power as well as the will to do what the public service requires." Has Lord Curzon the power as well as the will?

Not yet, we fear—and regret. There appears to be vacillation or inconsistency in high places, which may possibly imply a conflict in which the Viceroy does not always carry off the victory. The observant public cannot but be puzzled when one Bill is hurried through the Legislative Council at top speed and another is ostentatiously held over for many months, while the Viceroy anxiously invites the judgment of the people upon its provisions. And, again, when popular and expert opinion alike are amply and emphatically demonstrated, as in the case of the ill-omened Calcutta Municipality Bill, it is perplexing in the extreme to find the Government ignoring absolutely the very guidance that on other occasions it professes itself anxious to obtain. It is but an unprofitable exercise to conjecture the true motions of the wheels within wheels in the complexity of the governmental machinery. But it is plain enough to the outsider, whether European or Indian, that such inconsistency is a grievous weakness, and inevitably induces a feeling of suspicion and unrest in the minds of the ruled. Are these professions of a persuasive policy to be relied on as an expression of the settled purpose of Government to return to the principles of conciliation and co-operation in the great task of national development? Or are they but temporary adaptations of policy—the purring of the tiger when he finds it less advantageous to roar? For our own part, we wish to hope for a decided return to conciliatory ways. Our officials in India may domineer and order and roar at their pleasure, but it is quite certain that they can do no substantial service to Great Britain, or to India, unless they take the people of the country into free and honourable co-operation.

THE CHUPRA SCANDAL.

SOME COMMENTS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

The *Investors' Review* (December 2) writes:—Last week's INDIA contains a remarkable story that demands the immediate attention of Lord George Hamilton and his Council. Briefly it is this: The officiating District Magistrate in the Patna division of Bengal last August ordered the zemindars and rayats to repair certain banks of the water tanks or bundhs, and told the police to get the people to work to perform forced labour. This was illegal, but the first step might have been taken in ignorance. The people are not compelled to give forced labour to repair water tanks or for any other purpose. However, an assistant-superintendent of police, a lad named Corbett of the age of twenty-three, was sent to stir up the police to drive the people to the dykes, and in doing so he came upon a Native, not a member of the local police, but of a similar force elsewhere. The man was home on sick leave, but he was, haphazard, ordered by Mr. Corbett to go and work. Being a Rajput, he would have objected to earth-working in any case, but he simply stood on his rights; and a dispute arose, in the course of which Corbett and another man named Simkins knocked the Native down and gave him a good "hammering," to use their own expression. We are quoting from the judgment on appeal given in the case, and reprinted in INDIA. The man endeavoured to get redress for this disgraceful assault, and then the acting magistrate and other Europeans combined to prevent him from doing so. Instead of obtaining satisfaction from the Native magistrate before whom he appeared, that worthy being cajoled or intimidated by the Europeans, he was sent to prison for assaulting Messrs. Corbett and Simkins. So great was the injustice perpetrated that the pleader who had charge of the Native's case himself drew up an affidavit to the deputy-magistrate that led him to look into the matter and deliver a judgment of the most scathing description, in the course of which he made the appended observations. We do not wish to lay too much stress upon painful incidents of this kind, although it is significant that Mr. Pennell, the Sessions Judge, from whose deliverance we quote, is stated to have been transferred to a post in the most undesirable district in Bengal, but we hope the whole incident will be enquired into, and if any spirit of contempt for Natives' feelings and simple rights has really crept into the lower ranks of the English civil magistracy, a strenuous effort ought to be made to stamp it out before further mischief is done. In India we can no more than elsewhere hope to maintain our position except by showing consideration for the people we rule over. Like the editor of INDIA, we shall hope to hear of Mr. Pennell again.

If there is one thing clearer than another on the face of these proceedings, it is this, that the applicant was prosecuted simply because it was feared that he would otherwise bring a case against Messrs. Corbett and Simkins. All sorts of sections [of the Code] were pressed into the service; but whatever Narsingh's offence may have been, his crime consisted not in what he had done but in what he had suffered—it was the crime—and it may be a very grievous crime in these parts—of having been assaulted by a European official.

Neither on the evidence before Moulvie Zakir Hossein nor on that recorded by myself can I find anything which justifies the Moulvie's statement that the appellant was the aggressor and that he was rightly served—on the contrary it seems to me as at present advised that he was treated very badly. But on this point I refrain from saying more, inasmuch as in a separate proceeding I am directing a further inquiry into his complaint which Mr. Zakir Hossein has dismissed. Two other points stand out from these proceedings in equal prominence.

The first is that Mr. Zakir Hossein is a mere servile tool in the hands of his superiors, a man without a conscience, with no fear of God before his eyes.

The second is that Mr. Twidell has prostituted his high office as District Magistrate to screen his friends from justice.

With regard to Mr. Twidell. It has been contended by appellant's counsel that he has abetted an offence under Section 374, I.P.C. This contention seems to me somewhat extravagant. No doubt considerable moral responsibility must attach to Mr. Twidell, for there can be no doubt that he must have known perfectly well that the police would unlawfully compel men to work; but it seems to me that he has kept on the right side of the law, and that only his subordinate can be made to suffer. With regard to the actual prosecution, it is clear that his object all through was not to do justice, but to secure by hook or by crook that Narsingh should be convicted of *something*, and that any complaint which he might make should be burked.

The *Westminster Gazette* wrote (November 27): There is a case of race contempt noticed in INDIA this week, which it is to be hoped is very exceptional. . . . But this is a small matter compared with what is known as the "Chupra Scandal," which has of late been agitating Native circles in India. We quote the bare facts from the Bombay correspondent of our contemporary:—

A Native constable was asked by one Mr. Corbett, a young Assistant-Superintendent of Police, to do a job in connexion with some earthworks. This was no part of the duty of the constable, and he declined. Thereupon the young Assistant-Superintendent beat him, and Mr. Simkins, District Engineer, joined in the beating. . . . The injured man was dragged to the police-court by his assailants on a charge of assault and intention to assault. The case was heard before a Mahometan magistrate, and the constable was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

Mr. Pennell, the Sessions Judge of Chupra, considered there had been a gross miscarriage of justice, and not only released the constable but exposed in his judgment certain proceedings by a number of the English officials. Now we are assured that Mr. Pennell has been transferred to "one of the worst places in Bengal," for administering justice according to his lights. It seems a strange story—but it is certainly one about which more should be heard before long.

MARRIAGE OF MISS N. H. BONNERJEE.

The marriage has taken place to-day (Friday) at the Trinity Congregational Church, Croydon, of Miss Nalini Heloise Bonnerjee and Mr. George Alexander Blair. Miss Bonnerjee is the eldest daughter of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, one of the ex-Presidents of the Indian National Congress.

An interesting example of the increasing closeness of the relations between England and India will (wrote the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* on Wednesday) be seen on Friday, when the eldest daughter of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee is to marry an English barrister of the Northern Circuit. Mr. Bonnerjee, who is the leader of the Calcutta Bar, and who stood as Liberal candidate for Barrow at the general election, is one of the most English of the Indians, albeit a high-caste Brahmin. He lives half the year at Croydon. His daughters have been educated at Cambridge and his sons at Rugby and Oxford. Miss N. H. Bonnerjee, who is to be married on Friday, is a Girton girl, and took the natural science tripos. She is a licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries and a registered medical practitioner. The bridegroom is Mr. George Alexander Blair, of the Middle Temple, who practises at the Liverpool Bar.

A pleasant aspect of Imperialism (the London correspondent of the *Liverpool Daily Post* said) will be illustrated on Friday at Croydon, in the marriage of Miss N. H. Bonnerjee and Mr. George Alexander Blair. The bride is the daughter of a Hindu Brahman, the well-known Calcutta barrister Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, who resides during part of the year at Croydon, and who, it may be remembered, unsuccessfully contested Barrow-in-Furness in the Liberal interest at the last election; while Mr. Blair, whose father is one of the partners in the firm of Messrs. Law, Russell and Co., of Bradford, is a barrister of the Middle Temple, a member of the Northern Circuit, and practises at Liverpool. It would be hard to find an Indian family more English in training and ideas than that of Mr. Bonnerjee. His sons have been educated at Rugby and Oxford, and his daughters at Cambridge. Miss N. H. Bonnerjee took honours as a Girton girl in the Natural Science Tripos, and has since studied medicine in the London School of Medicine for Women. She is now a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, and a registered medical practitioner of the United Kingdom. Mr. Bonnerjee's eldest son, I may add, married an English girl. Alliances of this kind are not without their effect in strengthening the bonds that unite England and India.

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